SENATE HISTORY

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Senate Bicentennial Study Group

At its initial meeting on March 24, 1982 the fifteen-member Study Group on the Commemoration of the United States Senate Bicentenary elected former Republican Leader Hugh Scott as its chairman. The panel then examined a number of tentative proposals as it began work to develop "a program of exhibits, symposia, ceremonial events, and related activities" to mark the Senate's 200th anniversary in 1989.

The proposals were divided into three categories according to anticipated cost. The first group, requiring no additional funding, includes such ongoing projects as a guide to the research collections of all former senators, an annotated bibliography of three thousand senatorial biographies, an historical almanac of the Senate, and an edited collection of addresses by Democratic Leader Robert C. Byrd on the Senate's history and traditions.

The second category is composed of new projects also likely to require no significant additional funding. It includes ceremonial events, special exhibits, guides to the Senate's collection of artistic and historic objects, commemorative stamps and medals, and publication of the older minutes of Senate party caucuses.

The final category consists of projects for which additional funds will be necessary. Foremost among them are a biographical directory of the Senate's former members, an inventory of Senate records at the National Archives, a preservation program for deteriorating 19th century Senate records, audio-visual materials, and conferences focusing on the Senate's unique constitutional role.

The Study Group directed staff in the offices of the Senate Curator and the Senate Historian to expand the preliminary proposals with the assistance of the Library of Congress, the National Archives, and other interested organizations and individuals.

Transcripts of the Study Group's meeting are available from the Senate Historical Office. The panel is composed of *ex officio* and appointed members as follows:

Study Group members (Clockwise): Mr. Pogue, Mr. Hyman, Mr. Hildenbrand, Senator Scott, Senator Baker, Senator Young.

Ex Officio Members

Majority Leader ..... Howard Baker, Jr.
Minority Leader ..... Robert C. Byrd
Executive Secretary, Commission on Art and Antiquities ..... William F. Hildenbrand
Librarian of Congress ..... Daniel Boorstin
Archivist of the United States ..... Robert M. Warner
Chairman, Senate Historical Office Advisory Committee (Director, Dwight D. Eisenhower Institute for Historical Research, Smithsonian Institution) ... Forrest C. Pogue
Member, Senate Historical Office Advisory Committee (University of North Carolina) ... William E. Leuchtenburg
Member, Senate Historical Office Advisory Committee (Rice University) ..... Harold Hyman

Appointed Members

Current Senators ..... John Warner
Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.
Slade Gorton
Claiborne Pell
Wendell Ford
Former Senators ..... Hugh Scott
Milton Young
Wendell Anderson

S940-9

Senate "Juniority"

For the first time since 1923 the proportion of the Senate's current members serving in their initial six year term has risen to 56 percent. This occurred on April 20, 1982 with the swearing in of Senator Nicholas F. Brady (R-NJ). Viewed against the perspective of the Senate's entire 193-year history this percentage is not particularly unusual, for 69 of the past 97 Congresses have had first term membership rates above 50 percent. The rate does, however, represent a significant departure from a trend that has prevailed over the past thirty years. As recently as 1968 only 28 percent of the members were in their first terms, the lowest rate in Senate history. A full Congress-by-Congress tabulation follows. It is based on data provided by the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research at the University of Michigan.

Members Serving in Their First Six-Year Terms

		Percentage
01	3/4/1789 - 3/3/1791	100.0
02	3/4/1791 - 3/3/1793	100.0
03	3/4/1793 - 3/3/1795	100.0
04	3/4/1795 - 3/3/1797	75.0
05	3/4/1797 - 3/3/1799	84.4
06	3/4/1799 - 3/3/1801	84.4
07	3/4/1801 - 3/3/1803	78.1
08	3/4/1803 - 3/3/1805	84.4
09	3/4/1805 - 3/3/1807	82.4
10	3/4/1807 - 3/4/1809	79.4
11	3/4/1809 - 3/4/1811	76.5
12	3/4/1811 - 3/4/1813	69.4
13	3/4/1813 - 3/4/1815	72.2
14	3/4/1815 - 3/4/1817	86.8
15	3/4/1817 - 3/4/1819	88.1
16	3/4/1819 - 3/4/1821	89.1
17	3/4/1821 - 3/4/1823	89.6
18	3/4/1823 - 3/4/1825	68.8
19	3/4/1825 3/4/1827	64.6
20	3/4/1827 - 3/4/1829	64.6
21	3/4/1829 - 3/4/1831	64.6
22	3/4/1831 - 3/4/1833	66.7
23	3/4/1833 - 3/4/1835	68.8
24	3/4/1835 - 3/4/1837	76.9
25	3/4/1837 - 3/4/1839	76.9
26	3/4/1839 - 3/4/1841	70.6
27	3/4/1841 - 3/4/1843	64.7
28	3/4/1843 - 3/4/1845	65.4
29	3/4/1845 - 3/4/1847	76.4
30	3/4/1847 - 3/4/1849	72.9
31	3/4/1849 - 3/4/1851	75.4
32	3/4/1851 - 3/4/1853	84.1
33	3/4/1853 - 3/4/1855	77.4
34	3/4/1855 - 3/4/1857	71.0
35	3/4/1857 - 3/4/1859	66.7
36	3/4/1859 - 3/4/1861	60.1
37	3/4/1861 - 3/4/1863	64.3
38	3/4/1863 - 3/4/1865	69.2
39	3/4/1865 - 3/4/1867	66.7
40	3/4/1867 - 3/4/1869	74.2
41	3/4/1869 - 3/4/1871	75.7
42	3/4/1871 - 3/4/1873	74.3
43	3/4/1873 - 3/4/1875	75.3
44	3/4/1875 - 3/4/1877	77.3
45	3/4/1877 - 3/4/1879	76.3
46	3/4/1879 - 3/4/1881	72.4
47	3/4/1881 - 3/4/1883	69.3
48	3/4/1883 - 3/4/1885	63.2
49	3/4/1885 - 3/4/1887	56.6
50	3/4/1887 - 3/4/1889	47.4
51	3/4/1889 - 3/4/1891	47.7
52	3/4/1891 - 3/4/1893	46.0
53	3/4/1893 - 3/4/1895	45.5
54	3/4/1895 - 3/4/1897	53.3
55	3/4/1897 - 3/4/1899	55.6
56	3/4/1899 - 3/4/190[illegible]	58.4
57	3/4/1901 - 3/4/1903	53.3
58	3/4/1903 - 3/4/1905	52.2
59	3/4/1905 - 3/4/1907	47.8
60	3/4/1907 - 3/4/1909	46.7
61	3/4/1909 - 3/4/1911	52.1
62	3/4/1911 - 3/4/1913	65.6
63	3/4/1913 - 3/4/1915	72.9
64	3/4/1915 - 3/4/1917	61.5
65	3/4/1917 - 3/4/1919	56.2
66	3/4/1919 - 3/4/1921	45.8
67	3/4/1921 - 3/4/1923	56.2
68	3/4/1923 - 3/4/1925	55.2
69	3/4/1925 - 3/4/1927	55.2
70	3/4/1927 - 3/4/1929	50.0
71	3/4/1929 - 3/4/1931	45.8
72	3/4/1931 - 3/4/1933	45.8
73	3/4/1933 - 3/4/1935	48.9
74	3/4/1935 - 3/4/1937	53.1
75	3/4/1937 - 3/4/1939	52.1
76	3/4/1939 - 3/4/1941	45.8
77	3/4/1941 - 3/4/1943	45.8
78	3/4/1943 - 3/4/1945	43.8
79	3/4/1945 - 3/4/1947	45.8
80	3/4/1947 - 3/4/1949	54.6
81	3/4/1949 - 3/4/1951	54.2
82	3/4/1951 - 3/4/1953	53.1
83	3/4/1953 - 3/4/1955	45.8
84	3/4/1955 - 3/4/1957	41.1
85	3/4/1957 - 3/4/1959	35.4
86	3/4/1959 - 3/4/1961	41.0
87	3/4/1961 - 3/4/1963	39.4
88	3/4/1963 - 3/4/1965	44.0
89	3/4/1965 - 3/4/1967	28.0
90	3/4/1967 - 3/4/1969	28.0
91	3/4/1969 - 3/4/1971	30.0
92	3/4/1971 - 3/4/1973	33.0
93	3/4/1973 - 3/4/1975	39.0
94	3/4/1975 - 3/4/1977	34.0
95	3/4/1977 - 3/4/1979	42.0
96	3/4/1979 - 3/4/1981	48.0
97	3/4/1981 - 3/4/1983	56.0

Official Committee Histories

Two Senate committees have recently published official histories. Each is illustrated and includes lists of members arranged by congressional session. Copies are available at federal depository libraries and from the issuing committee while supplies last. The volumes are: *History of the Committee on Finance* (Senate Document 97-5), and *History of the Committee on Labor and Human Resources, 1869-1979* (Senate Document 96-71).

Senate Foreign Relations Committee Publishes Executive Sessions for 1959

The Berlin crisis of 1959 dominates volume 11 of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's "Historical Series" of executive session transcripts, which has just been released. The most significant new information made available in these declassified transcripts of closed door testimony was that both the Pentagon and the State Department contemplated the use of atomic weapons in any conflict to insure passage to West Berlin. "We feel that we must hold Berlin at all costs," General Nathan Twining, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, told the committee on January 14, 1959, "even to general war." Acting Secretary of State Christian Herter said that the allies were in a "good position to meet what may be the ultimate threat," and that any fighting in the middle of Europe could not likely be contained in a limited war." Senator Mike Mansfield then asked Herter, "When you say the 'ultimate threat,' do you mean nuclear bombing?" "It would have to come to that," Herter replied. The volume also contains Herter's testimony on the progress of the foreign ministers' conference in Paris concerning the Berlin crisis.

Historians of American foreign policy will find additional information in this volume on the Eisenhower administration's responses to events in Pakistan, Tibet, Iraq, Laos, and Cuba. CIA Director Allen Dulles testified on the results of the Cuban revolution, which succeeded on January 1, 1959. W. Averell Harriman gave the committee his assessment of conditions in the Soviet Union; and Paul Nitze reported to Senator John F. Kennedy's African Affairs subcommittee on the independence movement throughout Africa. Also included are the committee's deliberations on the controversial nomination of Clare Boothe Luce to be Ambassador to Brazil, and Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson's orchestration of the retirement of 91-year-old Theodore Francis Green as chairman of the committee in favor of Senator J. William Fulbright. Those interested in

receiving the 1959 volume, and previous volumes still in stock, should contact the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington, D.C., 20510. The volumes are available, on a limited basis, at no cost.

New Hampshire Archivists Establish Congressional Papers Network

The directors of five major New Hampshire archival institutions have established an informal network to assist members of the state's congressional delegation with the management and preservation of historically valuable office files and personal papers. According to state archivist Frank Mevers, "Lack of direction has recently resulted in at least two instances in which large bodies of such papers have arrived at institutions without their preparation to receive the collections which were for the most part unprocessed." Participants in the network, which includes Dartmouth College, the University of New Hampshire, the New Hampshire Historical Society, the State Library and the State Archives, have agreed to provide coordinated advisory services to the State's Senate and House members. This will include regular visits to the delegation's Washington and New Hampshire offices. A possible model for other states, this arrangement represents a welcome spirit of cooperation to bring rapidly growing collections under control, ultimately reducing the cost of their preservation and increasing their research value.

Robert Beecher Howell Papers Opened

Robert Beecher Howell (R-NB) served in the Senate from 1923 until his death ten years later. He was regarded as a progressive Republican who had a special interest in agricultural relief measures. During his career, he was often at odds with his party's leadership, was irreverant towards Senate rules and procedures, and was testy and abrasive with his colleagues. Upon his death, his papers were boxed and shipped to an Omaha warehouse where they lay undisturbed for nearly a half century. In 1979, former Senator Roman Hruska took an interest in the collection and arranged to have it transferred to the Nebraska State Historical Society. Recently the Society opened the Howell papers to research. Contained in 129 boxes, the collection reflects Howell's interest in agriculture and public utilities regulation. It includes legislative bill files, committee files and general subject files, as well as material related to his 1928 reelection campaign. For more information contact the Society's manuscripts curator at 1500 R Street, Lincoln, Nebraska, 68508.

Senators' Biographies

Supplements Six and Seven of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, recently published, contain biographical sketches of fifty former senators who died between 1956 and 1965. Among them are such well-known senators as Alben Barkley (D-KY), Joseph R. McCarthy (R-WI), Estes Kefauver (D-TN), and Robert Kerr (D-OK). While many of these senators left substantial paper collections and are the subjects of doctoral dissertations and full-length biographies, there are notable exceptions. The papers of Walter George (D-GA), for example, were burned intentionally, leaving behind no record for researchers to reconstruct his turbulent thirty-five years in Congress. Among others for whom little documentation exists are Sherman Minton (D-IN), whose files from his Senate years were destroyed, and Robert Rice Reynolds (D-NC), whose papers, despite extensive searches, have never surfaced.

SUPPLEMENT SIX

(Deaths Occurring Between 1956 and 1960)

Barkley, Alben
Bingham, Hiram
Dulles, John Foster
Edge, Walter
George, Walter
Guffey, Joseph
Kilgore, Harley
Langer, William
McCarthy, Joseph
McKellar, Kenneth
Milliken, Eugene
Neely, Matthew
Neuberger, Richard
Phipps, Lawrence
Scott, W. Kerr
Shipsted, Henrik
Stanley, Augustus
Welker, Herman

SUPPLEMENT SEVEN

(Deaths Occurring Between 1961 and 1965)

Ashurst, Henry
Austin, Warren
Barrett, Frank
Bender, George
Brewster, Ralph
Bridges, Styles
Burton, Harold
Case, Francis
Chavez, Dennis
Connally, Thomas
Downey, Sheridan
Dworshak, Henry
Engle, Clair
Grundy, Joseph
Hale, Frederick
Hatch, Carl
Ives, Irving
Johnston, Olin
Kefauver, Estes
Kennedy, John
Kerr, Robert
Lehman, Herbert
Mead, James
Minton, Sherman
Murray, James
O'Mahoney, Joseph
Pepper, George
Reynolds, Robert
Schoeppel, Andrew
Thomas, Elmer
Tydings, Millard
Wallgren, Monrad

Publications Available

The Senate Historical Office has a limited supply of the following publications available free of charge:

The United States Senate: A Historical Bibliography (78 p., 1977)

Proceedings of the Conference on the Research Use and Disposition of Senators' Papers (186 p., 1978)

Senate Committee Records: A Guide to Disposition and Public Access 40 p., 1981)

New Bibliography on Congress

The United States Congress: A Bibliography by Robert U. Goehlert and John R. Sayre (New York: The Free Press, 1982, $50.00) provides a convenient and comprehensive guide to 5,600 scholarly books, articles, and reports on the history, development, and legislative process of Congress. The volume is arranged according to fourteen major topical headings including congressional powers, reform, leadership, investigations, and pressures. The entries are easily accessible through detailed author and subject indexes, but they lack annotations. The authors have omitted citations to biographies, which are to be included in a future volume.

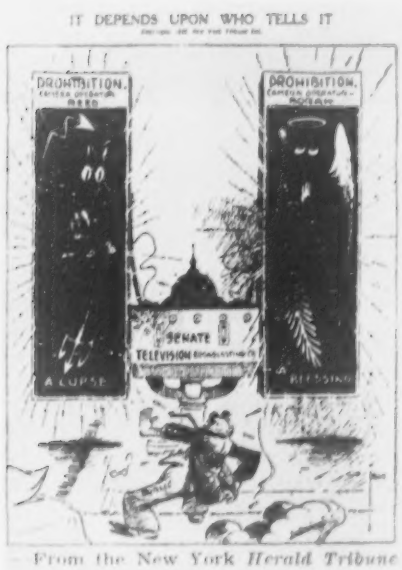
Statements on the Senate's History

Early in 1980 Democratic Leader Robert C. Byrd inaugurated a comprehensive series of addresses to the Senate on subjects related to its history and traditions. By the end of April 1982 he had completed fifty topical and chronological statements. Citations to the thirty-nine topical statements appear in the *Congressional Record Index* and issue #6 of *Senate History*. The chronological series, delivered more recently, is listed below, with references to the daily edition of the *Congressional Record*.

Date	Subject	Page
May 4, 1981	The United States Senate: First Congress	S4284-S4290
May 19, 1981	William Maclay's Senate	S5150-S5157
June 4, 1981	Birth of Political Parties in the Senate	S5788-S5794
June 15, 1981	Senate in the Jeffersonian Era, 1800-1808	S6149-S6154
July 8, 1981	Senate and the War of 1812 (1809-1816)	S7214-S7220
July 31, 1981	Early History of Senate Committees	S8915-S8920
September 11, 1981	Recent Procedural Reforms	S9478-S9480
October 20, 1981	"Era of Good Feelings," 1817-1824	S11653-S11660
October 30, 1981	"Era of Suspense," 1825-1828	S12685-S12692
March 3, 1982	The Senate Comes of Age: 1829-1833	S1439-S1443
March 4, 1982	" " " (continued)	S1584-S1588
March 15, 1982	Senate Censures Andrew Jackson, 1833-1837	S2065-S2070

TELEVISING SENATE PROCEEDINGS --- 1929

On April 21, 1982 the Senate, by a vote of 95-1, directed the Rules Committee to prepare "regulations and/or rules changes needed to implement television and/or radio coverage of the Senate." The Rules Committee has sixty days to complete its report before debate resumes on the feasibility of televising Senate floor proceedings. Television in the Senate is not a new idea. Here is how one cartoonist pictured the broadcasting of a notable debate on prohibition more than half a century ago.



From the New York *Herald Tribune*

Harper's Ferry Raid Microfilm Available

The National Archives recently issued a three-roll set of microfilm containing the records of the Senate Select Committee to investigate John Brown's 1859 raid on the U.S. Arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. John Brown was found guilty of treason and hanged on December 2, 1859. Three days after his execution the 36th Congress convened in an atmosphere of intense sectional passions. Shortly thereafter the Senate established the select committee to inquire into the details of the raid to determine the nature of Brown's organization, and the sources of his military equipment and financial support. The committee was also to suggest legislation that might "be necessary on the part of the United States for the future preservation of the peace of the country, or for the safety of public property."

The panel's members had great difficulty securing desired witnesses and supporting documents. In one instance, the Massachusetts Supreme Court denied the right of the Senate Sergeant at Arms to deputize individuals to serve subpoenas, thus casting doubt on the Senate's power to gather information. Failure to secure testimony from several key figures, whom the committee suspected of having conspired with Brown, undoubtedly influenced the findings of the investigation.

The records filmed on rolls 1 and 2 were originally published as Senate Report 278, 36th Congress, 1st session (Serial Set #1040). Most of the records on roll 3, however, have not been previously published. They consist of general correspondence related to the committee's acitivities. The microfilm may be ordered from the Publications Sales Branch, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C., 20408, at $15.00 per roll.

New Books on Senator Joe McCarthy

With the exception of Senators who became president -- Harding, Truman, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon -- no 20th century senator has been the subject of more books than has Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin. Since 1950 more than twenty books have featured his name in their titles, and countless other books, articles, and dissertations have focused on some aspect of McCarthy and "McCarthyism." Most recently, Thomas C. Reeves has published the first full-scale scholarly biography of the controversial senator, *The Life and Times of Joe McCarthy: A Biography* New York: Stein and Day, 1982, 819 pp.). Reeves presents a relatively sympathetic account of McCarthy. He argues that the senator was neither "the fiendish figure so familiar to history students," nor the "saintly patriot his most fanatical admirers depicted." He also rejects as caricature the image of a cynical McCarthy who used the anti-communist movement strictly for political profit. Instead, Reeves views McCarthy as a "true believer," who was carried away by his cause, oblivious to the damage he inflicted on others and on himself.

Reeves suggests that McCarthy's critics shared in the responsibility for his excesses, pointing particularly to William Evjue's *Madison Capital Times* for unfair and unfavorable treatment of McCarthy's early career in the Senate. McCarthy received little attention from the press for his industrious crusade for housing for war veterans, for instance. "In Wisconsin, where housing was not a major issue, newspapers virtually ignored the junior senator's work," Reeves notes. "What attention was paid to housing came largely from the *Madison Capital Times*, which linked McCarthy to the real estate lobby. . ." It was, in fact, against that paper that McCarthy made his first charges of Communist subversion and conspiracy -- three months before his more famous attack on the State Department made at Wheeling, West Virginia. "Joe's attack on the *Capital Times* in November 1949, won him more publicity throughout Wisconsin than any activity he had undertaken since entering the Senate," Reeves observed. "The principle was not lost upon him: he could labor for months on housing legislation with barely a ripple of attention in the press, but by calling someone's loyalty into question he became an instant celebrity."

How the press dealt with the Wisconsin senator is also the subject of Edwin R. Bayley's *Joe McCarthy and the Press* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981, 270 pp.). A former reporter for the anti-McCarthy *Milwaukee Journal*, Bayley sought to answer those who charged that the press "created" McCarthy, and those who thought the press was "used" by him. Was the press "supine," or did it "smear" the senator? Bayley concludes that the press contributed to McCarthy's initial successes through flat, uninterpretive wire stories on his accusations, onto which local editors often tacked lurid and misleading headlines. McCarthy was also aided by "straight reporting," which published his undocumented charges "objectively" and without analysis; and the senator's direct attacks on the press may also have intimidated many journalists and shaped their reports. "But in the end," Bayley insists, "the persistence of McCarthy's critics in the media made it possible for the centrist politicians who dominated the Senate and the Eisenhower administration to act against him. While he used the press in ordinary ways more effectively than anyone else, he was not, in the long run, able to use the press as he sought to."

Neither book exhausts the historiographical battle over Joe McCarthy. Until the senator's papers at Marquette University are opened, and the restrictions are lifted on the papers of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations under his chairmanship, no one can hope to write the definitive account of his controversial life and times. The absence of essential manuscript sources led both Reeves and Bayley to rely heavily upon oral history. Reeves cites 115 interviews he conducted (largely with McCarthy's associates in Wisconsin and Washington), and another 11 archival oral histories. Bayley cites 45 interviews (largely with members of the press who covered McCarthy). Out of a combined 177 interviews, only five individuals were interviewed or cited by both authors. This disparity may account for some of the sharp differences in tone between the two books, and demonstrates that the selection of interviewees is in itself an important element in a book's interpretation.

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (right) faces off against Senator Millard Tydings (left) at the first session of the "Tydings Committee" investigation of McCarthy's charges against the State Department, March 8, 1950.

Lobbyists of the Late Nineteenth Century

Many of the Senate's practices and folkways have long histories. Here is how one newspaper reported on the status of the lobbyist in the corridors of the Capitol during the late nineteenth century. From the *Washington Star,* January 31, 1891 --

There are a great many strangers and sightseers in Washington now, but for that matter, Washington always has a great many of those. When Congress is in session one of the first things they look for when they go to the Capitol is the lobbyist. They have heard and read a great deal about this mysterious person and they are particularly anxious to see him or her. They have a preconceived notion that he carries around a large money bag with him and that he shells out gold eagles with a lavish hand, and that she pervades the halls of Congress as beautiful and enticing as a veritable Cleopatra. All this is romance, but, like most romance, it has just enough foundation in fact to make it difficult to tell where the romance begins and where the fact ends.

Now, this is not much of a lobbying session, for the reason that the measures before Congress are not business measures. The tariff brings forth quantities of lobbyists, and so does any railroad legislation, but nobody is going to lobby for or against the force bill, nor is there any lobbying about the cloture rule. The free coinage of silver bill has given us some lobbyists, and, indeed, we would not feel thoroughly at home if we were entirely without them, for, as a matter of fact, we have had them ever since the government began, and there is no legislative assembly in the world where they are not present under one name or another.

If the truth were known it would be found that many lobbyists prey upon the credulity of their clients and that they pretend to do a great deal of bribing, where in reality they do but little.

A CASE IN POINT

Some of the readers of THE STAR may remember a case which illustrates this. Over ten years ago a certain financial question of great importance was pending in the Senate. Any speculator who could foretell how the question was going to be decided had a chance of making a great deal of money, and this decision, practically speaking, rested upon the position of a certain Senator of great influence. What his position would be nobody knew, but a lobbyist approached the speculators and offered to secure the vote and voice of this Senator for the sum of $10,000. He held himself high, the lobbyist said. The money was paid and the Senator made a strong speech in favor of the pending bill. Later it leaked out that the lobbyist, through a spy, had ascertained that the Senator was preparing a speech, had read his notes and had then sold the Senator's vote.

It cannot be doubted that a great deal of the money paid to lobbyists is paid in this way. Good men are not apt to follow this calling and when two scamps come together they try to cheat each other. There is simplicity of cunning, as Charles Dickens has remarked, and the man who is bad enough to wish to bribe is simple enough to believe that other people are willing to accept bribes.

THE FEMALE LOBBYIST

The curiosity of the stranger in Washington to see the female lobbyist has already been alluded to. The rural newspapers are full of descriptions of her, and these descriptions not only appeal to the imagination, but are drawn from the imagination. Once upon a time there may have been in Washington a woman of magnificent personal attractions and of irresistable mental traits, who was supported by the parties in interest in great splendor, and who had almost unlimited money furnished her on condition that she should influence the actions of legislators when she might be called upon to do so. This Cleopatra may have had been able to make the Senate and House obey her orders. All this and more may have been, but there isn't a line of evidence on record to show it. There may be such a creature living in the city now. Perhaps the police know of her, but nobody else does. It may be strongly suspected that the lady is a myth. But the female lobbyist that may be seen almost any day at the Capitol is no myth.

THE REAL CASE

She is a poorly clad, nervous, wistful, and frightened woman. She has some claim before Congress, perhaps, or is interested in some other measure. She goes to see the members or Senators because she thinks it will help her interests and not because she wishes to. It is as disagreeable to her to visit them as it is to them to receive her visit. She shrinks at a rough word and she is grateful for kind usage. This is one kind of female lobbyist, and if she succeeds in getting anything it is because men take pity on her. There is another kind that is bold and over dressed and flashy. Maybe she influences some legislators, but most of them being well-behaved married men are not subject to influences of this character.

THE THREE CLASSES

A man who made a study of lobbyists some years ago divided them into three classes and his division is doubtless a correct one. The first class are the professional lobbyists. They make a steady income out of their businesses. If they are not employed by one side, they will work on the other side in order to be bought out. Frequently they are paid not to work, for if they are not paid they will work against a measure. They are clever fellows with smooth tongues and they are particularly familiar with legislative ways, and especially with the dark ways. They make a good deal of money, but they usually spend it pretty freely. These fellows flourish more particularly at state legislatures, where they are at times a power of great importance. Here in Washington there are too many of them, but it would hardly be correct to say that many of them are rich.

The second class of lobbyists are the worst of all. They are the agents of large corporations and monopolies. They have unlimited means and they usually employ lesser lobbyists under them. They are often fine men in other respects and men of talent. They do unquestionably exert an influence on legislation and they resort not only to bad means to accomplish their ends, but to diplomatic means as well. These are the most dangerous lobbyists of all.

The third class are the occasional lobbyists, who come here in the interest of certain measures, lobby for them and then go home. They are not as effective as the other classes, because they are not as experienced.

How far a man who is a lawyer may properly be a lobbyist is a question that different people look at in different ways. The Supreme Court of the United States once decided that it was a legitimate professional service for a lawyer to collect facts, draw up petitions, make arguments before committees and do similar work for one who had a measure pending before Congress, but that personal solicitation of a legislator's vote was not legitimate. How far one may argue without soliciting is a matter that a man must decide for himself.

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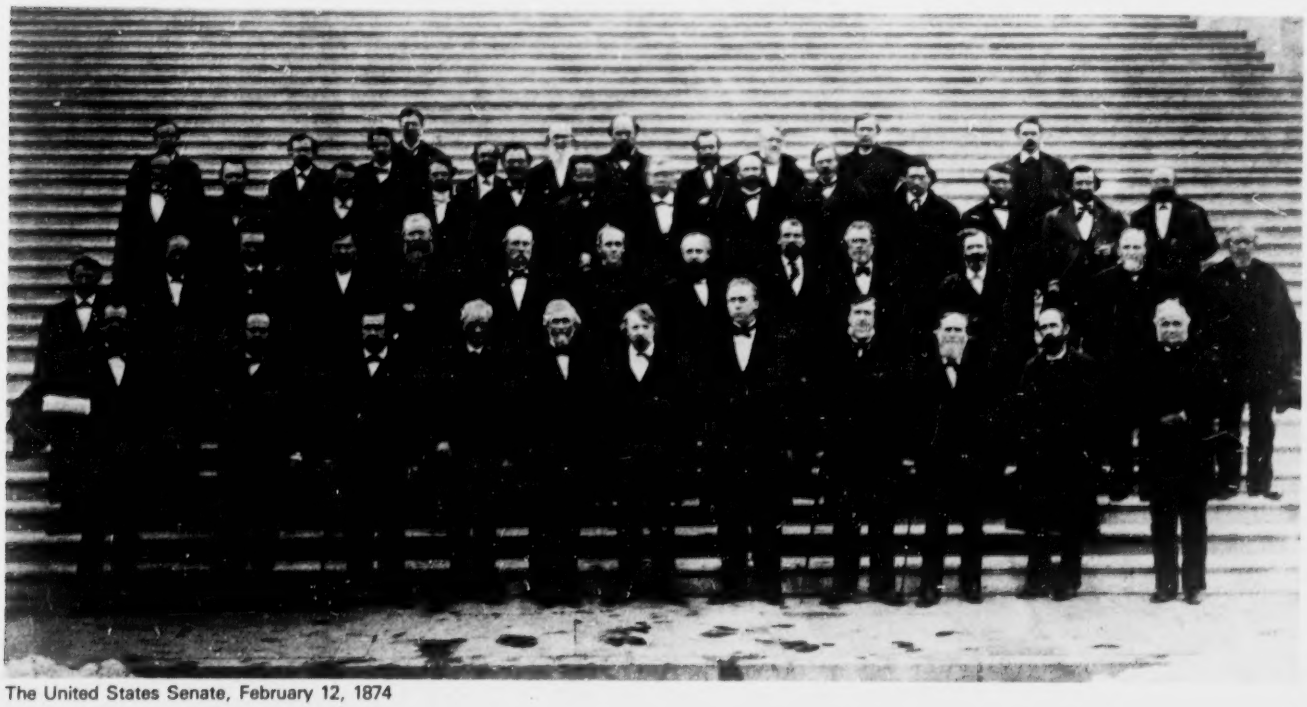
Number 8

Guide to Research Collections Published

Early this month the Senate issued the first in a series of reference publications designed to commemorate its 1989 bicentennial and to stimulate research in Senate history. The 360-page *Guide to Research Collections of Former United States Senators, 1789-1982* presents for the first time comprehensive information on the location and scope of most of the Senate's 1,659 former members' letters, diaries, oral histories, photographs, paintings, and memorabilia in 350 publicly accessible repositories across the nation. From the oral history of a one-armed grizzly bear fighter who knew a western senator well, to the collection described in tons rather than linear feet, to the heirs who reported that their father's papers were stored in a barn, where they were destroyed by fire, then water, then vermin, each entry reflects a part of the rich history of the Senate and its individual members.

The *Guide* is the result of a seven-year research project conducted by the Senate Historical Office. The main body of the publication is arranged alphabetically by senator with information presented under the general headings of "Papers" and "Oral History." Each citation includes the name and location of the repository followed by a description of its holdings for the particular senator. A comprehensive "Papers" entry would include dates of the collection, number of items, description of content, existence of finding aids, and user restrictions. A full oral history entry would include date of the interview, the number of transcribed pages, and an indication of restrictions. If the repository holding papers or oral histories also has portraits, photographs, or memorabilia of the senator, a notation will appear at the end of the main citation. The *Guide* concludes with appendices that list collections by repository as well as senators alphabetically by state with information on party membership, other major offices held, and birth and death dates.

Single copies of the *Guide* are available without cost from the Senate Historical Office.



The United States Senate, February 12, 1874

5940-10

Poll of Outstanding Former Senators

Who have been the most outstanding U.S. Senators since 1789? David L. Porter, Professor of History and Political Science at William Penn College in Oskaloosa, Iowa and author of two books on the U.S. Congress, recently decided to seek the views of 40 of the nation's leading political historians, asking each to select the ten greatest U.S. Senators since 1789. The participants were mostly college and university professors who have written significant books on the U.S. Congress and political history. Senators were evaluated according to their accomplishments in office and their overall impact on American political history.

Twenty-six of the 40 historians responded to Porter's survey. In numerical rank, the historians' choices for the ten greatest U.S. Senators were:

Rank	Senator	Major Party	State	Years of Service	Votes
1	Henry Clay	Whig	Kentucky	1806-07 1810-11 1831-42 1849-52	24
1	Robert La Follette, Sr.	Progressive	Wisconsin	1906-25	24
3	John C. Calhoun	Democrat	South Carolina	1832-43 1845-50	23
3	Daniel Webster	Whig	Massachusetts	1827-41 1845-50	23
5	George Norris	Republican	Nebraska	1913-43	22
6	Robert Taft, Sr.	Republican	Ohio	1939-53	17
7	Stephen Douglas	Democrat	Illinois	1847-61	14
7	Hubert Humphrey	Democrat	Minnesota	1949-64 1971-78	14
9	Lyndon Johnson	Democrat	Texas	1949-61	13
10	Charles Sumner	Republican	Massachusetts	1851-74	12

Five served in the nineteenth century, while the remainder held office since 1900. Politically, this distinguished group included four Democrats, three Republicans, two Whigs, and one Progressive. Sectionally, five came from the Middle West, three from the South, and two from New England.

What common qualities helped make these Senators the ten greatest? Most served during critical periods of American history, exhibiting their astute leadership on significant political, economic, social, and foreign policy issues. Framers of major legislation, many chaired key Senate committees and profoundly influenced national thought and constitutional development. These Senators acted courageously, often speaking their convictions regardless of popular sentiments. Skilled debaters and effective written communicators, their influence transcended political and sectional lines. Although idealistic by nature, they realized that politics is the art of compromise.

Twenty-six other U.S. Senators were mentioned in the poll. Nine members received at least three votes:

Rank	Senator	Major Party	State	Years of Service	Votes
11	Robert Wagner	Democrat	New York	1927-49	11
12	J. William Fulbright	Democrat	Arkansas	1945-74	9
13	Thomas Benton	Democrat	Missouri	1821-51	7
14	Henry Cabot Lodge	Republican	Massachusetts	1893-1924	6
15	Richard Russell	Democrat	Georgia	1933-71	4
16	John Sherman	Republican	Ohio	1861-77 1881-97	3
16	William Allison	Republican	Iowa	1873-1908	3
16	Nelson Aldrich	Republican	Rhode Island	1881-1911	3
16	Arthur Vandenberg	Republican	Michigan	1928-51	3

Lee Metcalf Papers Opened

In the summer of 1970 Archivist Dale Johnson of the University of Montana received what he considered "one of the most unusual calls to emanate from a Senator's office." Senator Lee Metcalf (D-MT) asked Johnson to join his Washington staff for a year to begin processing office files and personal papers accumulated since the start of his congressional service in 1953. During the following year Johnson separated materials of permanent value from those of short term utility and prepared a finding aid listing file folder titles for noncurrent records. He then shipped the papers to the Montana Historical Society.

Johnson returned to the senator's office for two months every two years to process additional papers and update the finding aid. At the time of Metcalf's death in 1978, Johnson had transferred nearly 500 cubic feet of research materials to the historical society.

As a result of this careful preparation, the Montana State Historical Society in January of this year was able to honor Senator Metcalf's wish that his papers be opened to the public exactly five years following his death. For further information about the collection contact the Society at 225 North Roberts Street, Helena, Montana, 59601.

$250,000 to Process Javits Papers

On July 30, 1982, Governor Hugh Carey signed legislation appropriating $250,000 to the State University of New York at Stony Brook for housing and processing of former Senator Jacob K. Javits' public papers, manuscripts, and memorabilia. One of the largest grants of its kind, the funding will ensure that the collection, representing Javits' twenty-four years in the Senate, will be open to researchers within a minimum of two years. The collection consists of approximately 2,000 cubic feet of papers, books, awards, photographs, audio and video tapes, and microfilm. For further information, contact the Special Collections Department, Melville Memorial Library, State University of New York, Stony Brook, New York, 11794.

Senate Plans for 200th Anniversary

A revised and expanded biographical directory of the Senate's members since 1789 and a guide to the 20,000 linear feet of Senate records at the National Archives were among the principal recommendations contained in the December 15, 1982 final report of the Study Group on the Commemoration of the United States Senate Bicentenary. During 1982 the sixteen-member panel surveyed a large number of proposals ranging from a recreation of the Senate's first meeting to a documentary film on the body's past and present. Under the chairmanship of former Republican Senate Leader Hugh Scott, the Study Group divided the most promising proposals into four categories. Those categories and the related projects are:

Projects Requiring Special Funding

- Biographical Directory of the United States Senate, 1789-1989
- Guide to Senate Records at the National Archives
- Exhibitions and Ceremonial Events
- Microfilm Publication of Key Senate Records

Projects Requiring No Separate Funding

- Senate Historical Almanac, 1789-1989
- Guide to the Research Collections of Former United States Senators: 1789-1982
- Staff Memoirs: The Senate From the Inside
- Senator Robert C. Byrd's History of the United States Senate

Projects Recommended For Further Study

- Minutes of Democratic and Republican Party Caucuses
- Conferences and Symposia
- A History of the United States Senate

Independent Projects

- Committee Histories
- A Film
- Commemorative Stamps and Medals

The final report includes detailed descriptions of each proposal along with collateral recommendations prepared by "Project '87," a Constitution Bicentennial planning organization of the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association. The complete report was published in the *Congressional Record* of May 12, 1983, pp. S6547-S6553.

Copies of the report and transcripts of the Study Group's three meetings are available from the Senate Historical Office. The panel's *ex officio* and appointed members were:

MEMBERS

CHAIRMAN.....Hugh Scott

Ex Officio Members

Majority Leader.....Howard Baker, Jr.
Minority Leader.....Robert C. Byrd
Executive Secretary, Commission on Art and Antiquities.....William F. Hildenbrand
Librarian of Congress.....Daniel Boorstin
Archivist of the United States.....Robert M. Warner
Chairman, Senate Historical Office Advisory Committee (Director, Dwight D. Eisenhower Institute for Historical Research, Smithsonian Institution).....Forrest C. Pogue
Member, Senate Historical Office Advisory Committee (Rice University).....Harold Hyman
Member, Senate Historical Office Advisory Committee (University of North Carolina).....William E. Leuchtenburg

Appointed Members

Current Senators.....Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.
John Warner
Slade Gorton
Claiborne Pell
Wendell Ford

Former Senators.....Hugh Scott
Milton Young
Wendell Anderson

Senatorial Oral Histories

The recently published guide to the research collections of former United States senators contains information on senatorial oral histories as well as manuscripts and memorabilia. As might be expected, senators have been prime candidates for oral histories. The guide identifies ninety-six former senators who have given such interviews, and twenty-five others who were discussed extensively in other archival interviews.

Among these former senators, the most prolific granters of oral history interviews appear to be George Aiken of Vermont and John Sparkman of Alabama, each of whom participated in at least seven different programs. Senator Aiken, for example, gave interviews to the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library (31 pages), the Hoover Institution at Stanford University (8 pages), the John C. Stennis collection at Mississippi State University (28 pages), the John Foster Dulles collection at Princeton (13 pages), and the University of Vermont (200 pages). Of these, only the last interview focused primarily on Senator Aiken's own career. The rest provide his observations on the presidents and other senators with whom he served.

While more numerous than others, Senator Aiken's multiple interviews are typical of senatorial oral histories. Of the nearly one hundred former senators who have done oral histories, nearly half have been interviewed more than once. Often these interviews are brief, lasting less than an hour, and are limited to single subjects. If the interviews took place while the senators were still in office, more often than not they were crowded into busy schedules in atmospheres not conducive to reflection. Very few of the interviews are restricted for

any extended period, indicating that they covered basically non-controversial material.

Unfortunately, such multiple interviews create misperceptions about oral history, to the detriment of subsequent programs. Many participants never get beyond the single-session interview to do the extended, in-depth life review that will be so valuable for future research on the Senate and its members. Only a comparative handful of full-fledged oral history projects have centered on United States senators. Some of these focus on the senator, such as the oral histories with Hiram Fong at the University of Hawaii; Price Daniel at North Texas State University; Earl Clements at Murray State University; and Herbert Lehman, H. Alexander Smith, Raymond Baldwin, and Herman Talmadge at Columbia University. Others are extended to include members of the senator's staff, family, and colleagues, such as the Richard Russell collection at the University of Georgia; the Karl Mundt collection at Dakota State College; and the Hubert Humphrey collection at the Minnesota Historical Society. An important new collection, sponsored by the Former Members of Congress, and which includes interviews with eighteen former senators, has recently been opened at the Library of Congress.

The Senate Historical Office has been working to encourage university libraries and other repositories of senatorial papers to plan oral histories as part of those collections. The oral history can fill in the large gaps that exist in recent records, caused by the decline of personal letter writing and increase in telephone conversations and jet transportation; and the manuscript collection in turn can provide the ideal source of material on which to base an interview. It recommends that oral history projects wait until after a senator has retired, in order to avoid busy schedules, staff interruptions, and concerns over the possible political consequences of remarks made during the interviews. Creditable oral histories with members of the Senate require major investments in time and money, but the results can be most significant. A good interview can serve as an indispensable research source, enriching and clarifying the written record. A poorly-conducted interview may have the doubly adverse effect of leaving an incomplete record and making the subject unwilling to participate in, or take seriously, other oral history projects.

An extended discussion of senatorial oral histories is available in an article "Beyond the *Congressional Record:* Congress and Oral History," *Maryland Historian* 13(Fall/Winter 1982): 7-16

Featherstone Reid Oral History

"Magnuson never tried to steamroller. He'd get impatient towards the end, but he had subtle ways of showing that impatience. He didn't do it verbally. One of the ways he showed impatience, that he displayed more when he became chairman of the Approrpiations Committee than he ever did before, and that was caused by Sunshine [requirement for public access to previously closed meetings] and the fact that Sunshine had a crowded room and Sunshine required the use of a gavel. Magnuson never used a gavel as I remember in the early days on Commerce. It was only Sunshine that required the presence of a gavel. But Magnuson would take the head of the gavel in his hand, and he'd start tapping the handle on the table. It was kind of a slow tap, but as it got faster and louder, it was a way he was sort of showing anyone around the table: "Look, fellows, let's get to it." It was never very loud but whether you were a new man like Jim Sasser, or an old-timer like John Stennis or William Proxmire, it didn't go unnoticed, and it had its effect."

During the years that Warren Featherstone Reid served on the Senate staff as an aide to the chairman of the Commerce Committee, the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, the President Pro Tempore, and the senior Senator from the State of Washington, he needed only one calling card: "Assistant to Warren G. Magnuson." Over the years, Reid had the opportunity to witness the inside workings of the Senate as an institution through one of its most influential members. In his oral history interviews with the Senate Historical Office, Reid recounted his experiences and observations.

Specializing in health and education matters, Reid worked with Senator Magnuson on the Commerce Committee and the Independent Offices and Health, Education, and Welfare subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee. When Magnuson became chairman of the Appropriations Committee, Reid became his chief aide and troubleshooter. From this unique vantage, Featherstone Reid discussed both the legislative and appropriations processes, the influence of lobbying by private groups and by presidential administrations from Lyndon Johnson to Jimmy Carter, the impact of the media on state and national politics, and the transformation of the Senate from a small community with an "Inner Club," to a large, complex institution whose procedures have been opened to public view through various "Sunshine" regulations. Throughout it all, Reid also narrated the remarkable political career of one of the Senate's great "Work Horses," Warren Magnuson, his personality, his elections, and his legislative accomplishments.

Featherstone Reid

Copies of the Reid inverviews are located in the Senate Library, the Library of Congress, the National Archives, the Kennedy and Johnson presidential libraries, and the Magnuson papers at the University of Washington. Reid's interview is one of a series of oral histories that the Senate Historical Office is conducting with long-time members of the Senate staff who are now retired.

Margaret Chase Smith Library Dedicated

During her twenty-four years in the Senate (1949-1973) Margaret Chase Smith achieved many distinctions. She was the first and only woman elected to both the House and Senate, the only woman elected to the Senate for more than two terms, and, as chair of the Republican Conference, the first woman elected to a Senate leadership post. The office files and personal papers documenting her Senate career are now available to researchers in the newly opened Margaret Chase Smith Library Center in Skowhegan, Maine. Dedicated in August 1982, the Library consists of Senator Smith's home and a 7,700 square foot addition with separate areas for exhibitions, seminars, and research activity. Included in the research collections are eighty file drawers of records, more than one hundred volumes of scrapbooks, forty volumes of speeches, tape recordings, photographs, and related memorabilia. The library is operated by the Northwood Institute of Midland, Michigan, a private business-oriented college. For further information, contact James C. MacCampbell, Director, Smith Library Center, Skowhegan, Maine, 04976.

Margaret Chase Smith Library Center

Publications Available

Filing Guidelines for Senate Committees and Subcommittees

Dramatic growth in the size and complexity of Senate committee and subcommittee office files has necessitated establishment of criteria for identification and eventual transfer to the National Archives of permanently valuable committee records. With assistance from the National Archives and the Senate Commerce Committee, the Senate Historical Office has prepared a 32-page guide for use by committee staff. The publication includes files maintenance and disposition plans arranged by office of origin and type of file. Individual free copies are available from the Senate Historical Office.

The Senate Caucus Room

The Caucus Room of the Russell Senate Office Building is one of the grandest and most historic rooms in the nation's capital. Completed in 1909, the chamber was originally intended for party caucuses. Its size and grandeur quickly made the room a desirable site for major public hearings, beginning with the dramatic 1912 Senate investigation of the sinking of the *Titanic*. The room is now used for receptions, meetings, luncheons, concerts, award ceremonies, and unveiling of presidential candidacies. In response to frequent requests about key events associated with the room, the Senate Historical Office has prepared an eight-page illustrated brochure. Free copies are available on request.

"U-2" Incident Covered in New Volume of Senate Foreign Relations Committee's Historical Series

The shooting down of an American U-2 photo-reconnaissance plane over the Soviet Union on May 1, 1960 is the major topic of discussion in the recently published Volume XII of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's Historical Series of executive session transcripts. The U-2 incident exposed a highly sophisticated information-gathering technique of the Central Intelligence Agency; it contributed to the collapse of the Paris Summit meeting; it dispelled the "Spirit of Camp David" detente between the United States and the Soviet Union; it involved the President of the United States in the issuance and retraction of a cover story; and it became a significant issue in the presidential election of 1960.

Due to the magnitude of the event, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee held extensive hearings on both the U-2 and the collapse of the Summit. Representatives of the State and Defense departments, the Central Intelligence Agency, and NASA were called to testify. While much of their testimony was published in sanitized form in 1960, large portions were sealed for reasons of national security. These portions, together with the complete testimony of CIA director Allen Dulles, and a long series of often acrimonious committee meetings seeking to draft a final report, are all included in the new volume.

Also published in the 1960 volume are hearings relating to Cuba, the Congo, Laos, nuclear disarmament, and the mutual defense treaty with Japan. A very limited number of copies is available. Those interested in receiving a copy of Volume XII, and any back issues still in stock, should contact the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington, D.C. 20510.

Lewis H. Machen Family Papers

While Congress are engaged in almost interminable discussion [regarding admission of California and slavery in the territories], the people everywhere earnestly desire the termination of these disputes; and if the session should close without effecting anything, a voice of condemnation will arise from every hamlet and section of our country. No appropriation bills have yet been reported; and after the first of July, public necessities will enforce the performance of public duties.

Lewis H. Machen to Arthur Machen
June 13, 1850

As Principal Clerk of the Senate in 1850, Lewis H. Machen witnessed not only the perennial rush to pass appropriations bills, but also a host of intense personality clashes and strategic maneuverings as the Senate struggled to resolve issues threatening the Nation's continued existence. For the half-century from 1809 to 1859 he served as an insightful and articulate witness to the Senate's so-called "Golden Age."

Recently, after several years of negotiations, the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress acquired the Machen family papers. They were the gift of Arthur W. Machen, Jr., Mary Gresham Machen, and Elizabeth Machen Palmer, all of Baltimore. Although of interest as a family archive of the early 19th century, the collection has much wider significance because of the intimate and longstanding association of the family with the U.S. Senate. Lewis H. Machen (1790-1863), paterfamilias, is at the center of the collection. He was born in Maryland but moved to Washington when he was 16 years old. Three years later, in 1809, he entered the office of the Secretary of the Senate as an engrossing clerk and subsequently became executive clerk. From 1836 until his resignation in 1859 he was principal clerk of the Senate. Over a span of 50 years, therefore, he served uninterruptedly under four Secretaries of the Senate -- Samuel A. Otis, Charles Cutts, Walter Lowrie, and Asbury Dickins. Sen. Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, in remarks made on the Senate floor, July 2, 1980, paid tribute to Lewis H. Machen as "indeed a busy and versatile man," who had functioned for a time "as a one-man Congressional Research Service."

Consisting of approximately 4,500 items, and covering the years 1807-1917, the Machen Family Papers include a few journals and account books, family and general correspondence, speeches and writings, a Senate-related file, and subject, legal, and financial files.

Lewis H. Machen, from his vantage point in the Senate, was witness to 50 years of turbulent political history. In long, closely written letters he counseled his children, advised on the operation of the family farm and almost invariably reserved a page or two, particularly in letters to his son, for a discussion of national events. Always paramount in the many letters of the 1840's and 1850's was the growing hostility between the North and South and the perception that the bonds of union were loosening. A score of letters follow the course of events leading to the Compromise of 1850. John C. Calhoun's sentiments with respect to this crisis were denounced as "worse than former nullification," whereas Daniel Webster's famed conciliatory speech of the 7th of March was warmly supported by Machen. Deliberations over the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, and the struggle that ensued in Kansas thereafter, were also followed closely. Culmination in the Senate came on May 22, 1856, when Preston Brooks, a Representative from South Carolina, assaulted Sen. Charles Sumner of Massachusetts on the Senate floor for his speech on "The Crime of Kansas." Machen, in a long letter to his son, Arthur, described how he came into the Senate Chamber moments after the assault in time to see Sumner being raised from the floor and carried off, bleeding profusely.

General correspondence is comprised of more than 1,000 letters addressed chiefly to Lewis and Arthur Machen by persons other thar family members. Several Senators are represented, a few Cabinet members, and other important figures of the times. Included are nearly 40 letters from Walter Lowrie and Asbury Dickins, Secretaries of the Senate. A retained copy of a letter from Lewis to Senator William C. Rives of Virginia is of special interest because of the long retrospective account it contains of Machen's role in rescuing from destruction the records of the Senate during the burning of the Capitol by the British in the War of 1812. The loss of these records, he asserted, "would have reflected a deeper and more indelible disgrace than the Burning of a hundred Capitols, or the capture of every Seaboard City in our Land."

Lewis H. Machen

Lewis Machen's "Senate File" consists of abstracts and copies of official correspondence and government documents, indexes to documents, memoranda and lists of Senate rules and precedents, and other notes and miscellaneous papers. Much of this material relates to Machen's role in the compilation and publication of the volumes in the *American State Papers* series bearing on foreign relations.

The Machen Papers have been arranged and described and may be studied in the Manuscript Division's Reading room. Copyright interests in the writings of the family members have been dedicated to the public.

John McDonough
Manuscript Division
Library of Congress

Congressional Papers Project Funded

The Congressional Documentary Heritage Program of the Everett McKinley Dirksen Congressional Leadership Research Center has made a grant of $3,000 to the Society of American Archivists to support initial efforts toward developing guidelines for members of Congress and their staffs on the administration of current records and their eventual deposit in archival institutions.

A working group composed of Patricia Aronsson, special staff assistant to Senator Russell Long; David Wigdor, specialist in 20th century political history, Library of Congress; and William W. Moss, chief archivist, John F. Kennedy Library, will seek input from members of Congress, their staffs, research scholars, and archivists as it draws plans for a publication which will be prepared and published in a second phase of the undertaking.

Statements on the Senate's History

In March 1980 Democratic Leader Robert C. Byrd inaugurated a comprehensive series of addresses to the Senate on subjects related to its history and traditions. By May 1983 he had completed 58 topical and chronological statements. It is expected that he will conclude this series during 1984 at which time the statements will be edited for publication as a separate Senate document. This was among the principal recommendations in the recent report of the Senate Bicentennial Study Group. All addresses within this series are listed below with citations to the daily edition of the *Congressional Record*.

Robert C. Byrd's History of the U.S. Senate

Date	Subject	Page
	Topical Series	
March 21, 1980	General History of Congress	S2789-S2792
March 28, 1980	General History of the Senate Explanation of "Morning Business"	S3232-S3235
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April 18, 1980	History of the Senate Leadership	S3920-S3925
May 2, 1980	Role of Senate Floor Leaders	S4491-S4497
May 9, 1980	Assistant Floor Leaders/Whips	S5046-S5050
May 16, 1980	Secretary of the Democratic Conference President Pro Tempore, I	S5524-S5536
May 20, 1980	List of All Current and Former Senators	S5658-S5664
May 21, 1980	Office of the President Pro Tempore, II	S5673-S5675
May 28, 1980	Sergeant at Arms, I	S5842-S5845
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August 1, 1980	Democratic Conference and Policy Committee	S10609-S10616
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August 25, 1980	Meeting Places of the Senate, 1800-1859	S11456-S11461
September 3, 1980	Meeting Places of the Senate, 1859-	S11968-S11974
September 8, 1980	Senate Pages	S12212-S12218
September 17, 1980	The United States Constitution	S12719-S12723
September 30, 1980	General Accounting Office	S13851-S13853
October 1, 1980	Library of Congress	S14014-S14919
November 14, 1980	Government Printing Office	S14449-S14451
November 17, 1980	British Parliamentary Leadership	S14549-S14551
November 24, 1980	The Senate Press Galleries	S14905-S14911
December 4, 1980	Records of the United States Senate	S15487-S15492
December 8, 1980	Circular Letters of Congressmen	S15797-S15812
December 15, 1980	Congressional Pay, 1789-1980	S16563-S16564
January 21, 1981	Legislative Counsel of the Senate	S445-S447
January 29, 1981	Botanic Garden and Capitol Landscape	S801-S806
February 3, 1981	The Capitol Police	S945-S951
February 16, 1981	The Senate Rules--An Overview, 1789-1981	S1284-S1295
March 10, 1981	Limited Debate, 1789-1981	S1928-S1937
April 8, 1981	Senate Rules and Practices	S3615-S3619
April 27, 1981	God in American History	S3926-S3929
	Chronological Series	
May 4, 1981	The United States Senate: First Congress	S4284-S4290
May 19, 1981	William Maclay's Senate	S5150-S5157
June 4, 1981	Birth of Political Parties in the Senate	S5788-S5794
June 15, 1981	Senate in the Jeffersonian Era, 1800-1808	S6149-S6154
July 8, 1981	Senate and the War of 1812 (1808-1816)	S7214-S7220
July 31, 1981	Early History of Senate Committees	S8915-S8920
September 11, 1981	Recent Procedural Reforms	S9478-S9480
October 20, 1981	"Era of Good Feelings," 1817-1824	S11653-S11660
October 30, 1981	"Era of Suspense," 1825-1828	S12685-S12692
March 3, 1982	The Senate Comes of Age: 1829-1833	S1439-S1443)
March 4, 1982	The Senate Comes of Age: (continued)	S1584-S1588
March 15, 1982	Senate Censures Andrew Jackson, 1833-1837	S2065-S2070
December 3, 1982	The United States Senate From 1833 to 1840: Boom and Bust, Slavery and France	S13843-S13850
February 1, 1983	The Senate, Expansionism, and the Mexican War (1840-1848)	S772-S780
February 17, 1983	The Senate and the Compromise of 1850	S1382-S1387
February 24, 1983	The Senate in the Turbulent 1850s	S1694-S1701
March 2, 1983	The Senate During the Civil War, 1859-1865 (Part I)	S2041-S2047
March 24, 1983	The Senate During the Civil War, 1859-1865 (Part II)	S3942-S3950
April 5, 1983	West Virginia is Born	S4122-S4126
April 15, 1983	The Senate in the Era of Reconstruction	S4712-S4719

Why is the Senate's president pro tempore rather than its floor leaders in the line of presidential succession?

Article II, Section 1 of the United States Constitution provides that in case of the death, resignation, or incapacity of the president and vice president, the Congress may by law declare "what Officer shall then act as President." The office of president pro tempore was specifically established by the Constitution (Article I, Section 3). By contrast, the positions of majority and minority leaders of the Senate evolved by custom (the Democrats did not officially designate a floor "leader" until 1920; the Republicans in 1925). The floor leaders are officers of their parties rather than of the Senate as a whole.

In 1792, when the first line of succession was enacted, there was some debate whether the president pro tempore and speaker of the House were in fact officers of the government in the sense the Constitution intended. The same objections were raised against the 1947 Act of Succession, but in both cases the majority defeated those objections.

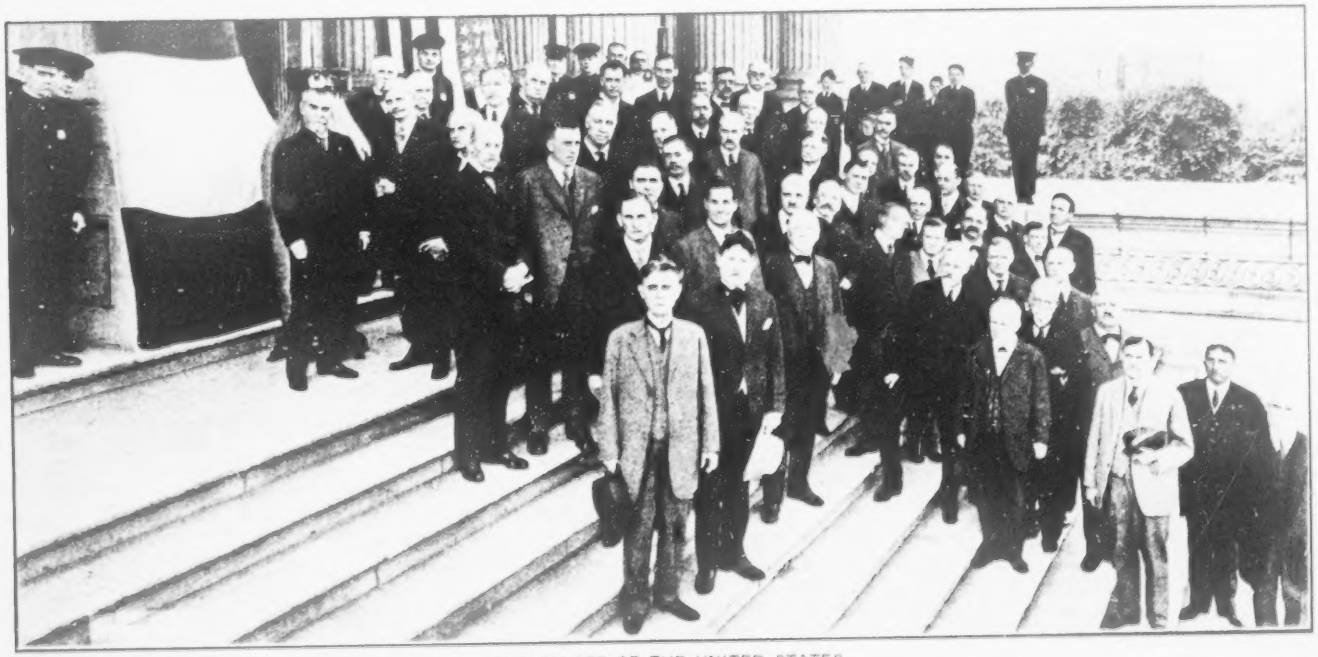
From 1792 to 1886 the president pro tempore was in the line of succession. In those years, when vice presidents regularly presided over the Senate, the presidents pro tempore were elected only in the absence of the vice president, and their terms expired when the vice president returned. There were often several presidents pro tempore in a single Congress, and the post did not automatically go to the senior member of the majority party. Because of the question of succession, it was common for the vice president to vacate the chair just before an adjournment. The Senate would then elect a president pro tempore whose service was not terminated by the adjournment but who would continue in the position until the next session, when the vice president would resume the chair.

In 1886, Senator George F. Hoar pointed out that there was no speaker of the House or president pro tempore during the long interval between the end of a Congress on March 3 and the convening of the next Congress on the first Monday in December (an arrangement that prevailed until the passage of the Twentieth "Lame Duck" Amendment in 1933). In the event that both the president and vice president died during this interregnum, Hoar suggested that members of the cabinet should constitute the line of succession. This proposal was adopted and remained in effect until 1947.

In June 1945, two months after he became president following the death of Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman proposed that the line of succession should go first to elected rather than appointed officials. Truman noted that he was in a position to appoint his own successor -- a member of his cabinet -- and that he did not believe "that in a democracy this power should rest with the Chief Executive." Truman recommended that the speaker and president pro tempore be returned to the line of succession. The Democratic 79th Congress did not act on Truman's proposal, but the Republican 80th Congress revived the idea.

On June 27, 1947, by a largely party line vote, the Senate adopted the new line of succession. The House enacted it by a wide, bi-partisan margin on July 10. In the 1947 act, the speaker of the House was placed ahead of the president pro tempore. President Truman had noted that "The Speaker of the House of Representatives, who is elected in his own district, is also elected to be the presiding officer of the House by a vote of all the representatives of all the people of the country. As a result, I believe that the Speaker is the official in the federal government, whose selection next to that of the President and Vice President, can be most accurately said to stem from the people themselves." Truman also argued that the speaker, elected every two years,, was closer to the prevailing national political sentiments than were senators, elected every six years. Senate Republican leader Kenneth Wherry endorsed Truman's proposal, noting that both the speaker and president pro tempore were senior members of their respective houses: "The individual who becomes Speaker is well qualified with respect to appropriations. He has much knowledge of general legislative matters. The same is true with respect to the Senate. A senator who is elected President Pro Tempore has served a long period of apprenticeship."

At the time the 1947 Act of Succession was passed, Senator Arthur Vandenberg was president pro tempore of the Senate. Although not the senior Republican senator, Vandenberg was one of the most respected members of the Senate and was widely considered a candidate for his party's presidential nomination. The other acknowledged Republican leader in the Senate was Robert A. Taft, Sr., who served as chairman of the Republican Policy Committee (Taft did not become Republican floor leader until 1953). The Republican floor leader in 1947 was freshman Senator Kenneth Wherry of Nebraska, who lacked the stature of both Vandenberg and Taft. During the debates on the bill, there was no suggestion made that the majority leader should be placed on the line of succession.



THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

September 24, 1918

SENATE HISTORY

Historical Office
Office of the Secretary
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

July 1984
Number 9

The Great Senate Deadlock: 1881

If the 1984 elections produce a Senate evenly divided between the Republican and Democratic parties, it would be only the second such instance in the Senate's two-hundred-year history. Although the Senate's party balance has been nearly even on several occasions, only at the beginning of the 47th Congress in 1881 did both parties have an equal number of members. Not surprisingly, this deadlock presented substantial organizational and procedural obstacles. The special session of the Senate that convened on March 4, 1881 had been called for the exclusive purpose of handling cabinet and agency nominations for the new administration of President James A. Garfield. Under normal circumstances, this short session should have lasted about eleven days; instead it ran for eleven weeks.

In the election of 1880 the Republicans had elected their presidential candidate and a majority of the House of Representatives. But when the Senate met on March 4, its membership stood at 37 Republicans, 37 Democrats, and 2 Independents. One of the Indepen-

(Continued on page 9)

THE BALANCE OF POWER.
The Political Complexion of the next Senate.

Senators' Papers: Recent Transfers

Elbert Thomas

The papers of former Utah Senator Elbert Thomas (D, 1933-1951) recently have been transferred from the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park, New York to the Utah State Historical Society at Salt Lake City. Consisting of over 163 feet of Senate correspondence, speeches, clippings, memoranda, and photographs, the collection covers 1907-1912, the years during which Thomas served in Japan as a Mormon missionary; and 1932-1953, encompassing his twenty years in the Senate and the two years, 1951-1953, during which he was civilian high commissioner of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. In addition to the material transferred from the Roosevelt Library, the Historical Society has also acquired from the Thomas family and other sources an additional 26 boxes of files, correspondence, and diaries of both the senator and his wife, Edna Harker Thomas. All of the Thomas materials are open to researchers.

Frank Church

Shortly before his death on April 7 of this year, former Senator Frank Church of Idaho (D, 1957-1981) decided to withdraw his papers from Stanford University in California, his alma mater, and transfer them to Boise State University in his home state. Approximately 2,000 feet of records, almost entirely Senate papers accumulated during Church's twenty-four year career, and reflecting his interests in foreign relations, conservation, and curtailment of executive power, are now being processed in Boise. The papers will be

(Continued on page 3)

S940-11

Bay of Pigs and Vietnam are Subjects of Senate Foreign Relations Committee Volume for 1961

The failed Bay of Pigs invasion and Vice President Lyndon Johnson's first visit to Southeast Asia are among the subjects of executive session hearings that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee recently released in volume 13, part 1, of its "Historical Series." These hearings, covering January through May, 1961, include testimony by Dean Rusk, Allen Dulles, General Lyman Lemnitzer, John J. McCloy, Llewellyn Thompson, Adolf Berle and Lyndon Johnson.

Release of this volume had been long delayed due to increasing difficulties over declassification and reclassification of executive branch material. Eventually the volume appeared on April 17, 1984, the twenty-third anniversary of the Bay of Pigs invasion. Press attention focused on the contradictory testimony given by several Kennedy administration officials, notably Secretary of State Rusk's assertion that a primary objective of the invasion was "to spark an uprising by many elements in Cuba, which would open the way for upsetting Castro by the Cubans themselves." The following day, CIA Director Allen Dulles contradicted Rusk, stating: "I want to correct what may be a slight misapprehension. We did not count on -- one might hope for it, but we did not count on -- any immediate uprising in Cuba."

Several newspapers compared the complaints of committee members in 1961, that they had not been consulted in advance, with the recent Congressional Executive Branch controversy over Central America. In a column in the *Washington Post*, on April 22, Haynes Johnson noted the "eerie timing" of the hearings' publication. "Far from being dated, they are extraordinarily relevent to the present debate," he wrote. "They deal, memorably, with such things as covert actions, the CIA role in the Caribbean, fury among members of both parties over failure to be consulted with consequences still being felt today, and the contradictions between stated American values and actual American behavior. In the background ominously hangs the darkening shadow of Vietnam."

He then quoted Lyndon Johnson's testimony in the volume that "Asian leaders at this time do not want American troops involved in Southeast Asia other than on training missions. American combat troop involvement is not desirable. Possibly Americans fail to appreciate the subtlety that recent colonial peoples do not look with favor upon governments which invite or accept the return soon of American troops. . . Any help, economic as well as military, that we give less developed nations to secure and maintain their freedom must be part of a mutual effort. These nations cannot be saved by the U.S. help alone."

"Reading that old testimony now is riveting and revealing," Haynes Johnson concluded. "One wishes it were required reading at the White House." The Foreign Relations Committee hopes that it will also become required reading among historians of American foreign relations. It will make copies of this volume, and past volumes in the series still in stock, available at no charge to those who write to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington, D.C. 20510, or call (202) 224-4620.

Congress and Vietnam

In 1953 Senators Barry Goldwater and John F. Kennedy joined forces on the Senate floor to amend President Eisenhower's military aid bill for Indochina. Senator Goldwater introduced the amendment halting any aid to Indochina until the French announced a target date for complete independence for the region. The only way to "prevent many of our boys from ending up in the jungles of southeastern Asia," Senator Goldwater warned, was to "ask France. . . to grant independence and the right of freedom to these people who have fought so long for their independence and freedom." Senator Kennedy modified the amendment to remove any appearance of an ultimatum to France, but stressed his belief that "the war can never be successful unless large numbers of the people of Viet-Nam are won over from their sullen neutrality and open hostility to it and fully support its successful conclusion." Even the Kennedy version, however was considered too drastic by the Senate, which defeated the Goldwater-Kennedy amendment by a vote of 17 to 64, with Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon Johnson voting against it.

This glimpse into how the leaders of the 1960s were forming their positions on Vietnam during the 1950s is provided in the first of a four-volume history published by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. *The U.S. Government and the Vietnam War: Executive and Legislative Roles and Relationships, Part 1, 1945-1961* (Senate Committee Print 98-185 Pt. 1) was prepared for the committee by Dr. William Conrad Gibbons of the Library of Congress' Congressional Research Service. In the course of his research, Dr. Gibbons had access to the files of the Foreign Relations Committee, incorporated material from the published historical series of executive session transcripts of the House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations committees, and conducted interviews with many of the participants. The Foreign Relations Committee commissioned this study, as Chairman Charles Percy notes, because "the Congress of the United States shares with the Executive the responsibility for decisions that led to our involvement in the Vietnam war and for approving the personnel and funds it required. Only by examining those decisions can we gain from this bitter experience the full understanding needed to act more wisely in the future."

Copies of Part 1 can be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, for $8.50. Subsequent volumes are being declassified and will be published shortly.

Senate History is published on an occasional basis, with a minimum of one issue per year, by the United States Senate Historical Office, Washington, D.C. 20510 (202-224-6900). Copies are available without cost. Individuals and institutions may request to be added to the mailing list for this publication.

Editor Richard A. Baker
Production Manager Elizabeth Ann Hornyak
Layout and Design John O. Hamilton

Recent Transfers *(continued)*

opened upon completion of processing in 1986.

Henry M. Jackson and Warren Magnuson

The papers of the late Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington (D, 1953-1983), who died in office in September 1983, have been deposited at the University of Washington in Seattle, where they join the equally important collection (ca. 2,000 feet) of Jackson's long-time colleague Senator Warren Magnuson (D, 1944-1981). The approximately 1,500 feet of Jackson papers cover his long congressional career -- twelve years in the House of Representatives and thirty in the Senate -- and reflect the senator's interest in national defense and the Soviet Union. Until the collection is processed, the Jackson papers will remain closed to researchers. Restrictions will be set once the scope and content are determined. The Washington state legislature recently appropriated $130,000 for fiscal 1985 to the University for the processing of both the Jackson papers and the Magnuson senatorial papers. Magnuson's pre-senatorial papers are processed and open.

Charles Sumner Correspondence

A recent grant of $27,600 from the National Historical Publications and Records Commission will make possible the publication of a comprehensive edition of the correspondence of U.S. Senator Charles Sumner (1811-1874). As senator from Massachusetts from 1851 until his death, Sumner was a leading figure in the nation's anti-slavery and civil rights movements. He served as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee through the tumultuous Civil War and Reconstruction periods.

Project director Beverly Palmer estimates that the total correspondence, amounting to 25,000 letters, will occupy approximately 80 microfilm reels. The microfilm edition will include the major Sumner collection at Harvard University's Houghton Library. In addition, correspondence will be included from other repositories between Sumner and prominent 19th century intellectual and political leaders. To be completed in 1986, the project cost is expected to reach $71,000. Individuals knowing of the whereabouts of previously unpublished letters to or from Sumner should write Beverly Palmer, Charles Sumner Project, Pitzer College, Claremont, CA, 91711.

Interview With a Senate Page, 1910-1912

I was selling newspapers at the corner of First Street and an extension of Pennsylvania Avenue around the Capitol Grounds near the Peace Monument. This Senator /Henry/ Dupont from Delaware took a liking to me. . . I asked him to get me a job as a page. . . We had to report at least two hours before Congress opened, neatly dressed. Although we were not uniformed we did have to wear clothes alike, which consisted of a Buster Brown-like suit, starting from the neck down to the shoes. . . When we had all-night sessions they let us go to sleep around the rostrum there. On the Senate side we sat right in front, and they snapped their fingers. Over on the House side they had push-buttons to call the pages.

Thus J. Franklin Little, at 88, recalls his service as a Senate page from 1910 to 1912, in a recent oral history interview with the Senate Historical Office. Little, as pages before and after him have done, served in and about the Senate chamber, running errands, carrying messages, sorting papers, filling ink wells and snuff boxes, and doing whatever other tasks were assigned them. Truly a child of the Senate, he had full run of the Capitol, racing through its corridors, climbing its dome, and even bathing in the marble tubs in its basement.

Little's thirty-nine-page interview on the life and times of a Senate page in the Progressive Era has been deposited in the Senate Library, the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, and the Center for Legislative Records of the National Archives, along with other interviews with retired members of the Senate staff.

"Little Borah" Comes to Washington

While the social obligations placed upon members of Congress are heavy, current senators and their spouses may take comfort in the knowledge that their lot is at least less complicated than it was in the past. In her memoirs entitled *Elephants and Donkeys* (University Press of Idaho: 1976), Mary Borah offers an amusing glimpse into the social obstacles confronting a freshman senator's wife in 1907.

On Thanksgiving Day, 1907, Mrs. Borah's train plowed through a snow storm into Union Station where she was met by her husband, Idaho's freshman Republican senator, William E. Borah, who had come ahead to find a place for them to live. After settling into a small apartment on Connecticut Avenue, Mrs. Borah prepared to do battle with society. She began by purchasing a book about Washington etiquette. She took seriously rumors that social blunders by a senator's wife could ruin her husband's career.

Back in Boise, the Borahs had been very popular. But Mrs. Borah's self-confidence began to fade when she came to the section in the etiquette book that dealt with the mysteries of "calling." Official days for receiving calls were assigned to each group of official hostesses. On Mondays the wives of Supreme Court justices were "at home," on Tuesdays cabinet wives, on Wednesdays the wives of representatives, on Thursday the wives of senators, and on Fridays the wives of the Diplomatic Corps. Mrs. Borah was expected to make the first call upon the wives of every official who outranked her husband. For the Borahs, this meant all but representatives and senators who arrived after Senator Borah.

January, the beginning of the social season, finally arrived, and with great trepidation, Mrs. Borah engaged a victoria and set out, armed with her box of calling cards. The etiquette of leaving cards was extremely complicated. There was a special code conveyed by turning down the corners of the cards. The bent upper right corner meant "congratulations;" the lower right "condolences;" the lower left, a call before departing on a trip; and the upper left, a social call. As Mark Twain noted in *The Gilded Age*, "It is very necessary to get the corners right, else one may unintentionally condole with a friend on a wedding or congratulate her upon a funeral."

Mrs. Borah's first foray into society was not a success. At the home of the chairman of one of her husband's committees:

> . . .a butler appeared promptly and ushered me into a drawing room where the senator's wife was visiting with a small group of friends.
>
> The butler paused. He was holding a tray for my card, which I'd forgotten to give him at the door! I handed it to him and he announced my name.
>
> My hostess, who hadn't looked up when I came in, still didn't look at me, but merely held out her hand and went on talking. 'The next thing I expected him to do was eat with his knife!' she said.
>
> From the conversation that followed I gathered she was describing one of the new congressmen. I stood there for about five minutes without being introduced or asked to sit down. No one spoke to me, and no one seemed to notice when I turned around and walked out.

Mrs. Borah's subsequent ventures into society were much more successful. By the end of her first year in Washington, she had mastered the intricacies of official etiquette. During their 33 years in the capital, Senator Borah and Mrs. Borah, known as "Little Borah," never lacked either friends or invitations.

When Senator Borah died in office in January 1940, his funeral was held in the Senate chamber. Mary Borah shook hands with all who came to pay their respects to her well-known and well-liked husband.

Because of her friendliness and because she had carefully followed the rules, Mrs. Borah could feel partly responsible for the senator's popularity.

Mrs. Borah returned to Boise where she and her husband had always been happy and lived there until her death in 1976 at the age of 106.

Guide to First-Person Accounts of the Senate Planned

For nearly two hundred years the Senate has attracted the interest of a wide variety of observers. During the 1800s, a visit to the nation's capital was an obligatory stop on nearly every traveler's itinerary. Hundreds of visitors, both foreign and domestic, filed in and out of the Senate galleries and many wrote lively accounts of what they witnessed.

Many of these accounts, such as the autobiographies of prominent senators and accounts of famous visitors, are well known. Others however, such as the autobiographies, journals, and travel accounts of less eminent observers, are more elusive. For example, the letters of Henry James, who visited Washington in the 1880s, yield delightful vignettes of its leading luminaries, as do Louisa May Alcott's *Hospital Sketches,* written while she was in Washington to nurse the Civil War wounded.

As part of its series of publications to mark the Senate's bicentennial in 1989, the Senate Historical Office is preparing an annotated bibliography of published first-person accounts, which will include excerpts from cited sources. The file of citations is growing, but the aid of researchers is requested to help insure that even the most obscure stone does not go unturned. Readers of *Senate History* who are aware of such accounts, whether of paragraph or book length, that are both published and in English, are encouraged to call them to the attention of Kathryn Jacob, Historical Office, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510.

RESEARCH COLLECTIONS GUIDE STILL AVAILABLE

Copies of the recently published *Guide to Research Collections of Former United States Senators, 1789-1982* (362 pages) are still available, without cost, from the Senate Historical Office, Washington, D.C. 20510.

The Senate Preserves Its Past At the National Archives

by Sara Stone
National Archives and Records Service

The Monroe Doctrine

Late one morning, during the beginning of public controversy over United States involvement in the ongoing Central American crisis, a telephone call came to the Center for Legislative Records in the National Archives. The caller asked about the Monroe Doctrine. Did the Archives have it? Yes, it was there; one copy in the records of the Senate, another copy in the records of the House of Representatives. Could he send a photographer right over to get some shots for his network's televised evening news broadcast? Yes, that was certainly possible, "but first," said the archivist, "let me describe it to you." He went on to explain that the famous "Monroe Doctrine" is only two small paragraphs of President Monroe's "State of the Union" message of December 2, 1823. Alas, as it became clear that there was no showy document with ribbons and seals which bore the bold title "Monroe Doctrine," interest at the other end of the telephone waned. And understandably. A lengthy annual message is not apt to spark public recognition nor to provide an easy visual link between discussion of the current turmoil and a 19th century manifesto. No photographer rushed to the Archives that day.

Lack of television star quality notwithstanding, the Senate's copy of the Monroe message has been exhibited frequently and it might well be called a showpiece among legislative documents. Its pages are reinforced by silking, a preservation treatment of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The entire 33-page document is set in a fine leather binding lined in purple watered silk. Had the photographer come for it, the message would have been more than ready to appear on the nightly news.

The same cannot be said for many of the early records of the United States Senate. Although they have been stored under temperature and humidity controls at the National Archives since 1937, until recently a lack of resources has prevented extensive and comprehensive treatment in conserving those fragile remains. Through the efforts of

Secretary of the Senate William F. Hildenbrand and members of the Senate Bicentennial Study Group, a special appropriation for the preservation of legislative records was passed by the Congress in 1982. For the first time, the National Archives is able to employ a small staff which can devote itself exclusively to the conservation of that unique body of records. The staff's purpose is to insure the longest possible life for those precious documents while at the same time making them and the information they contain more available to the public. The records to be treated date from the first meeting of the Senate in 1789 and are found in bound volumes and bundles of loose papers. They include manuscript maps, executive agency reports to Congress that do not survive in agency records, memorials and petitions from private citizens exercising their right to petition their government for redress of grievances, records of impeachment proceedings, treaty considerations, executive nominations, committee investigations -- records which comprise a rich and varied primary source for studying the nation's past.

History of Senate Records

Given the eventful history of Senate records, it is truly remarkable that the series of documents exists as nearly intact as it does today. The earliest ones traveled by flatboat from New York to Philadelphia in 1790 and then from Philadelphia to Washington in 1800, arriving on the docks of Alexandria, Virginia, some months before the House and Senate convened in that year. From there the documents were taken by cart to the as yet unfinished Senate wing of the Capitol, where they remained until the British marched toward Washington in 1814. Barely escaping the ensuing conflagration, the records were hastily evacuated by a watchful clerk employed in the Office of the Secretary of the Senate. That young clerk, Lewis Machen, had the presence of mind to move them by wagon to the safety of his farm near Centreville, Virginia.

Century of Neglect

Following the War of 1812, a century of neglect preceded the transfer of the Senate's noncurrent records to the National Archives. The period has been characterized by Senator Robert C. Byrd as one "even more hazardous to the records of Congress than dangerous sea voyages and invading armies." An examination of the trifolded bundles and bound volumes leads one to believe that much of the physical damage was done during that period. If a controlled temperature of about 72° Fahrenheit and humidity of about 50 percent constitute ideal storage conditions, consider how far from the ideal were the leaking attics and airless basements of the Capitol. High heat has left badly embrittled pages and has dried leather bindings beyond repair. The extreme humidity of Washington summers and winters caused some volumes to become hosts to mold and mildew.

19th Century Record Keeping

In addition to poor housing, modes of record keeping prevalent in the early federal period and lasting into the latter half of the 19th Century were less than ideal for promoting the long life of documents. Many documents were delivered to the Secretary and to senators without envelopes. A letter was folded in such a way that it became its own envelope and was then sealed with hot wax or a gelatinous wafer. Sometimes the seal was carefully placed so that opening it did not disturb the text; sometimes it was not. Iron gall ink of varying compositions was used. On some documents, concentrations of ink have caused black-edged holes. Handwriting on other documents is so faint as to be barely legible today. Clerks folded documents to fit the pigeonholes of their desks. Still tri-folded, it is along these added creases that the greatest damage can be observed. Dirt has accumulated there and contact with the acidic wood surfaces of pigeonholes has discolored and embrittled the edges causing loss of text along the filing creases.

Enemy of Paper: Red Tape

Besides the excessive folding, concentrations of dirt and dust, exposure to acidic surfaces, and high humidity, many documents have been damaged by being too tightly bound together by pink or red tape which was used by clerks of the time to gather related documents into bundles. Before the invention of the common file folder, clerks used linen, silk, or cotton ribbons or tape to serve the same purpose. And yes, this may have been the origin of the expression, "to cut through red tape," since the tape would have to be removed each time a particular document was requested.

The Archivists' Job

When Senate records were finally housed in the National Archives in 1937, they were placed in a stable and protected environment for the first time since 1789. Although the materials are remarkably intact, the cumulative effect of travel, the elements, and inadequate storage has taken its toll. It is those general problems, aggravated by the age of the documents that can now be addressed.

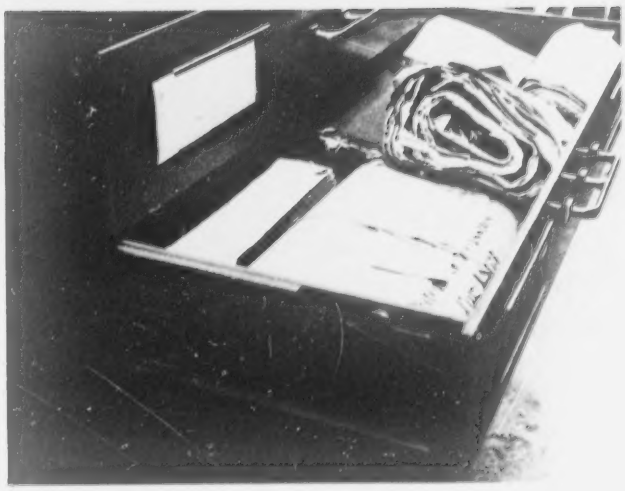
Unfolding and flattening folded documents and placing them in acid-free folders are tasks most often performed by the preservation project staff. Documents in need of complex treatments are sent to the conservation laboratory, where they are repaired by conservation specialists. Many documents submitted to the Senate were oversized and will require separate storage once they have been flattened, though many defy total unfolding. An example: accompanying the Report of the Treasurer of the United States to the 3rd Congress is a "General Statement of Goods and Wares and Merchandise Exported from the United States from 1 October 1792 to 30 September 1793." That document measures twenty-five inches high and four and one-half *yards* long! It will have to be loosely folded, accordian-like, to fit into a mylar envelope measuring seventeen by thirty-five inches, the size of the largest archival container. Maps and charts of dimensions too great for any storage space in the Center's stacks can be transferred to the Cartographic and Architectural Branch of the National Archives where specially designed flat storage containers are available.

Peculiar to legislative records is the rolled petition. What better way for a group to appeal to its elected representatives than with a large communication bearing the signatures of hundreds of constituents? To form petitions, sheets of signatures have often been glued end to end and wrapped tightly around a wooden core, with the text of the

petition the outermost sheet of the package. Again, accordian layering of such long narrow documents is the best way to store the paper and to preserve the information as it was received. The document's original form is preserved, but the tension on the tightly rolled sheets is relieved and the acidic wooden core is removed. Research use of these unusual records can be done with less difficulty and less chance of further damage to them.

Current Preservation Techniques

The present approach to paper conservation is based in part on insuring the reversibility of the process used. Shattered documents would have been subjected to high heat lamination just twenty years ago. Today they are carefully mended and placed between inert mylar sheets and partially sealed, a procedure called encapsulation. Adhesive tape, which discolors and then deteriorates paper, is not used for mending today and is chemically removed when it is discovered on records of any age. Waxes and glues are also removed when they show a high acid content. Newspapers and clippings, when they are part of the official records, as in the 1868 impeachment proceedings against Andrew Johnson, can be isolated from other records after their acidity has been neutralized by a laboratory procedure. While it is among early records that most of the preservation work will be focused, two kinds of recent records will also receive attention -- the mimeographed record copies on sulphite paper produced during the World War II period, and the fading thermofax copies which were produced in the period following World War II. Both categories will be photocopied on high rag content archival bond to preserve the image before it fades completely.



"A Squeaky Wheel Gets The Grease"

Because of the large quantity of Senate documents stored in the National Archives -- nearly 20,000 linear feet -- legislative archivists routinely give most of their attention to those records that are used by researchers, historians, and present day Senate staffs. If preservation problems are discovered during reference use, the archivist can see to it that fragile paper is supported or encapsulated, that fading ink is enhanced by photoduplication, that tears are mended, that dirt is removed. It is among records seldom used that uncommon situations may be found and it is there that tantalizing stories lurk. The systematic preservation project has revealed unexpected treasures and a few irresistable opportunities for archival sleuthing.

In the Center's stack areas, records are stored in archives boxes, steel trays, steel roller drawers, and custom made containers. The contents of each is identified on an outside label. Roller drawer 3 in aisle 16 of stack 8E4 was examined like the others before it: each item was removed, checked against the listing, examined, and conserved as its condition and value indicated. When everything on the drawer 3 list was accounted for, there remained what seemed a sizable rolled sheet, broken in places and exceptionally brittle to the touch. The logical conclusion was that the page was related either to the tightly rolled anti-slavery petition from the women of Illinois, or to the accounts of French spoliations through 1838 that had already been removed from the drawer. The roll and fragments were gathered and taken to the conservation laboratory of the National Archives. It was only after the conservators had carefully humidified and flattened the roll and assembled the pieces that a surprising identification was made; the sheet was an almost complete copy of the famous 1819 engraving of the signed Declaration of Independence. Small pieces, evidently cracked away from an old crease, were all that remained missing of the 22½ by 32 inch document.

Designed and published by John Binns, the engraving is embellished with portraits of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and John Hancock after paintings by Stuart, Otis and Copley. The text is enclosed in an elaborate ornamental chain of seals of the original thirteen states as drawn from official documents by Thomas Sully. Across the bottom is a note dated April 19, 1819, telling the reader that Secretary of State John Quincy Adams compared all of the signatures with originals and found them to be "exact imitations."

The elation of finding a copy of the Binns engraving among Senate records, the first one ever discovered in the National Archives, was somewhat dampened by the question, "What's it doing here?" No endorsement or other identifying mark could be found on the engraving, yet its presence among the records indicated that there was a Senate connection. The search began in the index of the *Senate Journal* for the year of publication, 1819, the 16th Congress, first session. Although no entry was found under "B" for Binns, there was an entry under "B" for Bills, and thereunder for Declaration. A bill (S. 6) "authorizing the purchase of a certain number of copies of the engraving, published by John Binns" had been introduced and read on December 15, 1819. Although the measure's prospects seemed bright during most of that congressional session, on the eve of final adjournment, the bill was suddenly tabled and thus killed. It is not clear why the Senate decided not to purchase two hundred copies of this engraving at $9.00 per copy, but the one found in Senate records is clearly related to consideration of the bill. Perhaps a sample engraving was circulated among senators for examination and, when the bill failed, the Secretary of the Senate folded and placed the copy with other records of the session, which were then retired to storage.

The special project to preserve Senate records will undoubtedly encounter other mysteries as it progresses. Reports on them and other interesting rediscoveries will appear in *Senate History* from time to time.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES BICENTENNIAL OFFICE ESTABLISHED

Late in 1982 the U.S. House of Representatives established a special office, under the supervision of the Speaker, to plan and direct programs to commemorate that body's two hundredth anniversary in 1989. By the end of 1983, a staff of four had been appointed and plans were well advanced for a series of publications, exhibitions, and ceremonial events. For further information, contact Dr. Raymond W. Smock, Historian, Office for the Bicentennial, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., 20515 (telephone 202-225-1153).

dents, former Supreme Court Justice David Davis of Illinois, had earlier announced that he would vote with the Democrats on such organizational matters as appointment of committees and selection of Senate officers. The other independent senator, William Mahone of Virginia, owed his recent election to support from a breakaway faction within his state's Democratic party. Known as the "Readjusters," that faction pledged itself to a reduction -- or "readjustment" -- of Virginia's heavy burden of accumulated financial indebtedness. Consequently, at the start of the brief session, Democratic leaders claimed 39 votes, including Mahone's, a sufficient majority to organize the Senate.

The Senate of the previous Congress had operated under Democratic control for the first time in twenty years. Although their solid majority had vanished with the 1880 elections, Senate Democrats believed that as long as they could count on Mahone's vote they could continue to control the legislature's considerable fund of patronage appointments and the chairmanships of the most important committees. At that time the minority party was traditionally given control of a half-dozen insignificant committees, such as Private Land Claims, Epidemic Diseases, Engrossed Bills, and Nicaraguan Claims, solely for the office space and staff resources they provided to their respective chairmen. The Republicans, however, had come too close to settle for such modest rewards. Republican leaders believed that while Senator Mahone had not publicly declared his party preference, they could win him to their side. If they were correct, the party balance would be set at 38 votes apiece, with Republican Vice President Chester A. Arthur casting the tie breaking vote for his party.

On March 14, 1881, after several days of preliminary maneuvering, the Senate proceeded to consider committee assignments and election of its officers. Curious members of the House vied for space on the crowded Senate floor while a noisy mob jammed the galleries. All waited for Mahone to signal his choice of parties. Democratic leader George Pendleton, pointedly dismissing rumors that the White House had been employing "champagne and satisfaction" to sway the undecided Mahone, moved that the Senate vote on the Democratic slate of committee nominees. Vice President Arthur directed the Secretary to call the roll.

All eyes came to rest on Mahone when the clerk reached his name. A correspondent for the *New York Times* described Mahone as one of the "most peculiar figures in the Senate chamber." Weighing less than 100 pounds, the five-foot-six-inch senator displayed a mane of abundant gray hair surmounting an angular frame perpetually clothed in black. When the dramatic moment arrived, Mahone, from his seat on the Democratic side, cast his vote with the Republicans. Having thereby clinched control of the Senate, the Republicans rocked the chamber with cheers and shouts.

On the following day, a large and ornate basket of flowers from the White House conservatory graced Mahone's desk. As the Republicans announced their choices for committee assignments, the terms of their bargain with the Virginia senator became apparent. The freshman Mahone would become chairman of the Agriculture Committee. Further, he would be allowed to select the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, both of whom commanded extensive patronage positions. President Garfield reluctantly yielded control of Virginia's federal patronage to Mahone and consented to use his influence to suppress Republican opposition to Readjuster slates in elections later that year.

Secure in the possession of Mahone's vote and the tie-breaking power of the vice president, Senate Republicans quickly cast aside the Democrats' committee list and adopted their own. Then they moved to elect a Secretary and Sergeant at Arms. At this point, a newspaper correspondent reported that "the Democratic senators were not in a hilarious mood. Their contenances were those of mourners at a funeral. Behind their desks was a grim row of clerks witnessing with solemn interest the proceedings that would deprive them of snug positions."

But then the proceedings ground to a stalemate. With several Republicans absent due to illness or other business, the Democrats were able to stall by leaving the chamber each time Republicans tried to muster the 39-vote quorum necessary to conduct business. By this tactic they protected the Democratic Senate officers and staff and blocked a vote that would have replaced them with Republicans. As impatience grew within the White House over the long list of executive nominees awaiting confirmation, the Democrats hoped to strike a bargain that would keep their officers in place until the next regular session nine months later, while allowing Republicans, in control of committee chairmanships, to proceed with the confirmation process. Wondering out loud why the Republicans should object, a Democratic senator asked whether there were any charges of inefficiency against the existing staff justifying their removal. A Republican countered: "Were there any against those whom you removed two years ago?" Pennsylvania Republican J.D. Cameron dismissed notions of a compromise by observing that "the present officers are good, but we have others just as good and we intend to put them in their places. It is a question of endurance and we had better settle it."

Although the debate outwardly focused on selection of Senate officers and committee clerks, the deeper issue rested on Democratic fears that the Republicans would make substantial inroads into their control of the "Solid South." They viewed the Republicans' success in luring Mahone away from the party, and the resulting disruption of the traditional Democratic hold over Virginia, as but the beginning of the contest. For their part, the Senate Republicans felt they needed to press the battle to honor their commitment to Mahone. The senator had promised the jobs of Secretary and Sergeant at Arms to prominent Virginia Readjusters, who were seeking additional signs of Republican favor to advance their candidates in the forthcoming state elections. As a result, the Republicans in the Senate vowed to "fight it out if it takes all summer" to give Mahone his patronage.

At this point an unexpected split in the Republican ranks developed. President Garfield had nominated a candidate for customs collector of the Port of New York who was opposed by New York's senior Republican Senator Ros-

coe Conkling, the formidable "boss" of that powerful state. Many party leaders pressed the president to back down, but citing the dignity of his office and his own self respect, Garfield would not retreat. At a Republican caucus on May 2, Senator Conkling delivered an eloquent and bitter two-and-a-half hour attack on the president. Arguing that Garfield was flaunting the tradition of senatorial courtesy, he persuaded his colleagues to postpone the customs collector's nomination and take up only noncontroversial posts. On May 4, 1881, President Garfield retaliated by withdrawing five uncontested New York nominations, all of men considered to be Conkling's allies. As Democrats looked on in delight, Conkling's fellow Republicans pressed ahead to complete the work of the session as quickly as possible.

Conkling feared his party's impatience would cost him both the five nominations and the ultimate humiliation of seeing a rival confirmed as customs collector. To forestall such action, the imperious Republican and his junior colleague, Senator Thomas Platt, dramatically resigned from the Senate on May 16. The two senators expected that the New York state legislature would quickly reelect them, thereby sending the White House a message. But Conkling and Platt had misread sentiments in the legislature and both failed to be reelected. Republicans in the Senate, released from their earlier commitments to Conkling, speedily confirmed Garfield's choice for customs collector.

The resignations of Conkling and Platt gave the Democrats a two-vote majority in the Senate. But in the interests of wrapping up the deadlocked session, they agreed not to reopen the issue of committee control. In return the Republicans permitted the Democrats to maintain control of the Senate's officers and their patronage. The Senate finally adjourned on May 20, less than a week after Conkling's resignation broke the deadlock.

When the regular session convened on December 5, 1881, the Nation's political climate had changed dramatically. President Garfield had been assassinated that summer and Chester Arthur now sat in the White House. With the vice presidency vacant, the Senate had named the Independent Democrat, David Davis, president pro tempore. An ideal presiding officer, the judicious Davis was described as "a neutral statesman who finds little of good and much of evil in each party." Following Davis' counsel that "it is best that the party which has the president and the House of Representatives should be held answerable for all public measures," the leadership of both parties agreed to perpetuate the organizational status quo. Leadership of the Senate committees remained in Republican hands, while the Democrats continued to control the offices of Secretary and Sergeant at Arms.

Nearly three-quarters of a century later, in July 1953, the Senate briefly faced the possibility of another deadlock. In January of that year, Republicans took control of the Senate by a slim 48 to 47 margin. Oregon's Wayne Morse considered himself an Independent, but voted with the Republicans to organize the Senate. In July, Majority Leader Robert Taft died and the governor of Ohio replaced him with a Democrat, giving Senate Democrats a 48 to 47 edge. As word spread that Democrats might challenge Republican control at the beginning of the second session in 1954, Senator Morse announced that he would continue to vote with the Republicans on organizational matters. This assurance, plus the tie-breaking vote of Vice President Richard Nixon, kept the Senate from a repetition of the organizational chaos that had befallen it during that long special session in 1881.

Statements on the Senate's History

In March 1980 Democratic Leader Robert C. Byrd inaugurated a comprehensive series of addresses to the Senate on subjects related to its history and traditions. By mid 1984 he had completed 68 topical and chronological statements. When the series is concluded, it is expected that the statements will be edited for publication as a separate Senate document. This was one of the principal recommendations of the 1982 Senate Bicentennial Study Group. All addresses within the series are listed below with citations to the daily edition of the *Congressional Record*.

Robert C. Byrd's History of the U.S. Senate

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Hubert H. Humphrey Papers Guide Published

Hubert H. Humphrey's 1948 election to the United States Senate triggered a major collecting program by the Minnesota Historical Society "designed to document public affairs in the mid-Twentieth Century from the perspectives of Minnesota people and organizations." As the introduction to a recently published guide to the Society's collection of Humphrey papers explains: "After the senator agreed to present his papers to the institution, they became a magnet that helped draw to the Society a remarkable body of materials relating to public affairs. Representing a wide variety of subjects and ideologies, the public affairs collections include not only papers and records that might be considered political and governmental in the narrow sense, but also those touching such concerns as conservation, the environment, human rights, and peace."

A key element in the Society's acquisition program involved working with donors, particularly that state's congressional delegation, as they were creating the documentation. Thus, the repository was able to shape its future collections according to anticipated research needs, avoiding the expense of accumulating bulky materials of marginal value.

The success of this far-sighted collecting policy is clearly demonstrated in an attractive 35-page illustrated guide that provides a useful overview of the Humphrey collection and serves as an excellent model for other repositories considering similar publications. Each record series is described according to main subdivisions that parallel the stages of Humphrey's career.

The *Hubert H. Humphrey Papers: A Summary Guide, Including The Papers Of Muriel Buck Humphrey Brown* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1983, 35 pages), is available for six dollars ($5.00 plus $1.00 postage, prepayment requested) from the Minnesota Historical Society, Division of Archives and Manuscripts, Order Department, 1500 Mississippi Street, St. Paul, Minnesota, 55101.

The Senate in session, February 21, 1939

Senate History
Historical Office
Office of the Secretary
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

William F. McDermand

SECRETARY OF U.S. SENATE

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